R E P O R T R E S U M E S

ED 012 722 UD 002 730

THE IMMIGRANT POOR AND THE RESIDUAL POOR.

BY- SEGALMAN, RALPH

PUB DATE APR 66

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.25 HC-$1.00 25P.

DESCRIPTORS- *IMMIGRANTS, *ECONONICALLY DISADVANTAGED, *NEGROES, *ETHNIC GROUPS, AMERICAN INDIANS, *CULTURAL DIFFERENCES, ACCULTURATION, FAMILY STRUCTURE, MIDDLE CLASS VALUES, FAMILY PROBLEMS, SOCIAL VALUES, COMMUNITY ROLE, POWER STRUCTURE, SOCIAL ATTITUDES, EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS, RELIGION, SELF CONCEPT, EDUCATION, PUERTO RICANS, MEXICAN AMERICANS,

AN ANALYSIS OF THE LIVES OF THE POOR IN AMERICA WILL SHOW DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE IMMIGRANT (AND REFUGEE) POOR AND THE RESIDUAL POOR (NEGROES, PUERTO RICANS, LATIN AMERICANS, INDIANS, AND OTHERS). THE IMMIGRANT POOR WERE ACCULTURATED AND ABSORBED INTO THE MAINSTREAM OF AMERICAN LIFE WITHIN THREE GENERATIONS, WHEREAS THE RESIDUAL POOR HAVE BEEN DETERRED FROM DOING SO BY POLITICAL AND SOCIOECONOMIC CONDITIONS. THE TWO GROUPS HAVE DIFFERENT FAMILY STRUCTURES, EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS, ATTITUDES TOWARD THE COMMUNITY, AND SELF-CONCEPTS, AND RELIGION PLAYS A DIFFERENT ROLE IN THEIR LIVES. THEY HAVE DIFFERENT VALUES ABOUT MONEY, CREDIT, AND TIME, AND ALSO REFLECT THEIR DIFFERENCES IN THEIR CHOICE OF HOUSING AND CLOTHING. BECAUSE IMMIGRANTS SOUGHT AND VALUED EDUCATION, THEIR CHILDREN CAME TO SCHOOL WITH READINESS ABILITIES. THE RESIDUAL POOR HAVE DEVALUED EDUCATION. THUS, THEIR CHILDREN HAVE INADEQUATE SCHOOL PREPARATION. IN EACH CASE, EDUCATION IS A SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECY--ONE GROUP HAS ACHIEVED WELL WHILE THE OTHER CONTINUES TO FAIL. THE ALIENATION OF CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF THE POOR CAN BE UNDERSTOOD WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF PARSON'S "ACTOR-ACTED UPON" CONCEPT--THE IMMIGRANT WAS AN "ACTOR" AND THE RESIDUAL IS PASSIVELY "ACTED UPON." MOST OF THE DISCUSSION IS SUMMARIZED IN CHARTS WHICH COMPARE THE TWO GROUPS. THIS PAPER WAS PRESENTED AT THE SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION MEETING (APRIL 5, 1966). (NH)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

E UD 002730

letter sent SO
4/11/67

ED012722

THE IMMIGRANT POOR AND THE RESIDUAL POOR

Ralph Segalman
Texas Western College
of the University of Texas

Southern Sociological Association Meeting
April 5, 1966

THE IMMIGRANT POOR AND THE RESIDUAL POOR

Ralph Segalman
Texas Western College
of the University of Texas

Numbers of observers have indicated that the American image of "the poor" is a product of cultural lag rather than reality (1). To many Americans, the image of "the poor" gives rise to views of "penniless" immigrants to America. This disparity of images is a serious one, especially in the light of the fact that immigration to the United States has long been at a plateau or decline, that the immigrants of yesteryear are largely members of today's middle class, and the bulk of the current American poor are Negroes, Latin-Americans, American Indians, Puerto-Ricans, and others, whose status as Americans is not a new condition. In fact, the disparity is made even more incongruous, when one considers Nathan Glazer's observation that "the next wave of ethnic self-consciousness must reflect . . .the growing estrangement between European ethnic groups and the Negroes (2).

It may be useful, in an analysis of the two images of the poor, to review the situational conditions of the two images of the poor, to review the situational conditions of the immigrants (who came before 1930) and the refugee immigrants (3). Davis' material, with some additions. has been incorporated into a comparison of the arrival years and adjustment of the immigrants and the American Negro, by the author of this article.

CHART I - COMPARISON OF EARLIER IMMIGRANTS, REFUGEE IMMIGRANTS AND SLAVE NEGROES

A EARLIER IMMIGRANTS (3)	B REFUGEE IMMIGRANTS (3)	C SLAVE NEGROES
Came primarily for economic reasons	Came primarily to escape persecution	Came under duress as slaves
Many planned to return	Few planned to return to homeland	Plans were out of their control and they knew it. No hope of return
High proportion of unattached males but family life intact.	High proportion of women and young children, family life intact.	Proportion of male and female irrelevant because family life was destroyed.
High sense of loyalty to community from which they emigrated. These ties retained in	High sense of loyalty to fellow emigres, with common newspapers, some organizations,	Organizational and mutual aid approaches viewed as insurrection. Only religious

A	B	C
social or religious organizations, close settlement of immigrants from same local. Maintained immigrant organizations.	and mutual aid programs. Joined American organizations.	services permitted during slavery. Was excluded from American organizations
Primarily peasants Laborers, artisans. Few intellectuals	Primarily business, professiorial and white collar groups, very large group of intellectuals	Primarily unskilled, unlettered. It was illegal to teach a Negro to read and write.
Majority had elementary education or less; few college and professional graduates	Majority had high school education, many had college and graduate degrees	No Western education of any type, (some tribal training which was not applicable to Western life)
Chiefly from rural areas and small towns	Chiefly from large cities	Chiefly from jungle
Limited horizons, seldom traveled beyond their region or country. Knew only their own one language	Cosmopolitan outlook, traveled widely, familiar with more than one language	Limited horizons, seldom traveled beyond their region. Knew only their own one language
Sometimes came with means, but always came with personal possessions	Rarely came with means, but had basic clothing etc. for retention of personal "self respect"	Came often without rudimentary clothing. Few items of self identity retained
Tended to concentrate in colonies	Widely distributed but often retained contact with one another by mail	Forcibly dispersed to distant plantations without contact of even nuclear family let alone extended family or tribe
Low standard of living. Willing to work for low wages or return, as long as hope for future existed	Often come with high standard of living. Worked for low wages only for short period while training or seeking better positions	Low standard of living and no hope on the horizon for improvement
Competed on "lower" occupational levels, aroused opposition of indigenous American workers	Competed on "higher" occupational levels; aroused opposition of American business and professional groups	Competed on the "lowest" occupational levels; aroused opposition of earlier immigrants, poor whites, etc.
Primarily concerned with making a living	Aspired to equal successful native Americans in achievement	Had few aspirations due to circumstances. At best, the hope was for safety, security and physical well-being which became a style of life.

A	B	C
Usually sought a humble, unobtrusive but productive dignified participation in life about him	Usually sought a place in life about him without concern for his visibility or obtrusiveness	Usually sought to be unobtrusive, not to call attention to himself for fear of punishment. Pattern often was "simulation".
Acquired English slowly but didn't seek to master it	Learned English rapidly and "in depth"	Learned English only verbally and seldom in depth
Placed little stress on children's education	Placed great stress on children's education	Had no control over children's education, which usually was minimal
Contribution to America was mostly in brawn, at first	From the beginning, made contributions to America on intellectual levels	Was able only to contribute brawn and was prevented generally from going beyond it
Tended to delay naturalization. Many remained aliens	Rapidly became naturalized in high proportion. Conscious effort made.	Prohibited generally from naturalization or later from use of civic potentialities
Strain between generations relatively limited. Children held to parental controls, with exceptions	Children infused with "child centered" American scene and with democratic ethic. Strain between generations often apparent	Children, at first, often deprived of contact with parents or parental controls. Later, children controlled by mother, father often absent, and strain between mother and child apparent.

It should also be made clear that where the immigrant poor had special resources at their disposal (mutual aid societies, railroad settlement schemes, etc.) and where the refugee poor had sectarian case work and relief programs available to them, the Negro, on arrival, had only the slave market as an adjustment aid.

The immigrant poor, and the refugee poor were acculturated and absorbed into the American economic scene in due course. The American Negro, the American Indian, and others, however, have been held back by political, economic and social conditions and forces which have denied them access to many of the facilities readily offered to the immigrants. These included effective education, consistent and fairly paid employment, opportunities for upward economic mobility and housing relatively free from restrictions.

A number of clear cut facts about the Negro make clear the nature of the difference between the Negro poor and the immigrant poor. These include:

1. The Negro was torn from his culture in Africa and transferred to slave breeding farms, where separation of mothers, fathers and children was effected. Family life was destroyed, often purposefully, with concomitant psychological castration of the male as head of the family. The whole southern slave system operated toward destruction of any "self-system" remaining among Negroes.

2. The Negro has dwelt longer in poverty in America and in greater proportions than any other ethnic group. Though uneducated and poor, he is continuously beset with material desires seen on television toward which he can develop aspirations but seldom expectations. This can only build up further hostility.

3. The urban "promised land" to which the Negro has come after great effort from a degrading life in the south has clearly brought him into a ghetto existence, from which he cannot see a way of escape.

4. The Negro feels that he is surrounded by hostile authority, in the form of police, officialdom, welfare authorities and others, who he believes continually exercise harassment, harshness, contemptuousness and distrust of the Negro poor. Argow (3d) states that "To an oppressed, hurting people any expression of enforcement can be taken as harassment and quickly magnified into an insult."

5. The Negro poor (as in the case of Latin-American poor also) have no community to which to relate. There are no real leaders, as such. Those who have escaped the ghetto are looked upon with suspicion, and often rightly so, since they are often people with a political or commercial "axe to grind."

The other elements in the residual poor group (Latin-Americans, American-Indians, Puerto Ricans, et. al.) have also experienced comparable conditions of debilitation which has interfered with their absorption into the fabric of American life.

Schmid and Nobbe state that " the traditional method of assimilation process assumes that an immigrant group will acquire, within a matter of several years, the language, habits, customs and values of the dominant, native born Anglo-Saxon population, and as a consequence its members will eventually move up in the social and economic hierarchies. Assimilation is expected to be completed by the third generation". (4) These investigators find that neither the Negro, the American Indian, nor the Filipino have been successful in achieving this degree of upward economic movement. With the Negro, very little movement has occurred.

Each of the aspects of structure, process and dynamics is worthy of comparison, if only for the purpose of clearer conceptualization of the current residual poor group.

CHART II - THE NUCLEAR FAMILY - PATTERNS OF THE IMMIGRANT POOR AND THE RESIDUAL POOR

D IMMIGRANT POOR (5)	E RESIDUAL POOR (6)
A patriarchy, but actually a partnership, with the mother in exclusive control over some family life functions. Mutual concern of all members of family, one for another, but children show conflict of culture resulting from immigrant culture at home and new world culture in school. This results in less joint family activities, especially in re: social activity, entertainment, etc. Parental emphasis on child behavior requires strict adherence by children to school and community authorities. Despite cultural difference between parents and external society, parents enforce societal norms, particularly official norms, which are brought to their attention. Relatively stable marriages held together by internal bonds. Moderate discipline, appeal to reason with children and occassional appreciation for good behavior was often encountered among refugee, and early immigrant families.	Often a Matriarchy (in minority groups) within an outwardly patriarchal society. Father often "missing" or one with an "impaired self esteem" resulting from chronic unemployment, underemployment, housework responsibility when wife is employed, (a prevalent condition). Difficult housing conditions lead to less control of children, who are more numerous than in other models, and whose "play room" is often the street. Children are directed to helping maintain the family as soon as they can. Emotional love probably pervasive despite greater prevalence of family breakdown. Early marriages; Short courtship and more prevalent divorce rate. Identification of children with parents often "spotty" within families and variance great between families. "He (the poor) sets great store by his family" and places great emphasis on his masculinity. "In the Negro sub-culture, (even) the mother frequently plays a strong, masculine type of role and is prone to stress. . . physical force" (7) Disciplinary treatment of children is inconsistent. Obedience enforced toward ends not understood by child. High standards of behavior are required without an affectionate background to act as an offsetting incentive to child. Beatings without provocation are common, all mirroring the hardships and frustrations of parents (8).

Kardiner and Ovesey state that:

> "The ethics of marriage in the lower-class are entirely different from white middle-class standards. . .entered upon much more casually. . . more tentative and provisional and much more easily dissolved. The basic reason for the instability of the lower-class marriage lies in the fact that it is generally entered on for economic purposes by the female. (The wish to get away from an oppressive environment is a common inducement for the female to seek marriage precipitously, only to be disillusioned shortly after). 'Love' is not a predominant motive for marriage and companionship between mates is rare. Forced marriages because of pregnancy is quite frequent." (8)

This is quite different from the marriage and family experience of many immigrant families, whose family patterns were middle class even before arrival in America.

The position of the Negro male is also different from that of the other immigrant male.

> "He (the lower class Negro male) fears the female much more than is apparent for intrinsic genetic reasons and also, because his economic opportunities are worse than the females. Hence, he is not infrequently at the mercy of the woman. Masculinity is closely tied to power in every form of society. The male is much more vulnerable to socio-economic failure." (8)

The incidence of illegitimacy and unmarried motherhood is greater in the residual poor, often in an atmosphere which is barren of love and affection. The less affection given, apparently, the more it is hungered for by the woman. This was not the case with the immigrant poor, where affection was reportedly a cohesive family force. May reports a typical residual poor woman's attitude:

> "I like a lot of attention and I like to feel that I'm appreciated. So I feel that you can't get this from a lot of men, you can only get it from one at a time. And this has been my way of livin' since I have been 18 years old. ...with three kids to educate and raise and you feel like if you associate with one person at a time they might be interested in you enough, they might want to help you. . . raise your children"...(9)

Moynihan presents a detailed picture of the fatherless Negro low income family life in depth (10). It is important to note that the members of a matriarchal minority in an officially patriarchal society easily fall victim to the self-hatred syndrome. Even the lack of practice of birth control by the male can be, in part, at least, traced to a resulting sense of irresponsibility and his lack of a sense of living for the future. In a sense, the male experiences a kind of vicarious family life, often temporarily with the children of other men who are also missing from their families. This is far different from the pattern experienced among the immigrant poor.

Ornati makes a telling point on the differences between the immigrant poor and the residual poor (11). His report indicated that the residual poor are multi-problem families, and that unemployment or poverty is only one of the interrelated difficulties which beset them. Among these problems are bad physical and emotional health, low educational aspiration, expectation and achievement, and shrinking occupational mobility. It is important to note that most immigrant poor had only one or two problems, often less interrelated; namely, lack of employment and problems in adjustment to the American scene. These were soon overcome in an expanding economy which had need for the unskilled. The multiproblem immigrant case was rare, and in any event, the immigrant family had access to and made willing use of specialized social agencies, often created and designed to meet their special needs. The residual poor, on the other

hand, with multiproblem families, have little or no readiness to surmount the class and communication barriers between them and the available social service resources.

CHART III - THE EXTENDED FAMILY-PATTERNS OF IMMIGRANT POOR AND RESIDUAL POOR

D IMMIGRANT POOR	
Members of the extended family are mutually responsible, one for another. When older children emigrated to new land, they then sent for their wives and children, then their parents and then their brothers and sisters and their families, (although not necessarily in that order). On arrival in the new land, they "doubled up," in their housing arrangements until new arrivals could find employment and housing. Dependent elderly parents often stayed on in their children's home, but in any case, mutual aid continued as did joint family celebrations etc. Often housing locations were not distant one from another. Because the poor usually have more children than the general American family, the potential size of the extended family is thus larger, and among the immigrant poor, the cohesion of the extended family acts as a strengthening force and a "built in" "mutual aid" society.	The extended family is often disintegrated or lost. The concerns of everyday living leave little opportunity for interfamilial contacts with extended family, except for rare holiday or family gatherings. Mutual aid probably occurs of a practical nature (gifts of good, used clothing, etc), but this is rare due to limited resources of the family and their own unmet needs. The residual poor family moves often, even though only within a local area, and this also cuts down on intensity of inter-familial contact. Government functions have to take over responsibility for members of extended family unable to provide their own means. The residual poor also have more children, and the size of the extended family, though often unassembled and dispersed, is larger than the general American family.

Kardiner and Ovesey report that:

> "sibling attitudes in the lower class show that animosity and hatred are the rule, with complete severance of relations. . .(where) friendly.. ties are not currently, maintained. In other cases, ties are maintained by a sense of duty, but attitudes are very hostile. . .in the struggle to obtain a share of these scarcities (of affection and material necessities) the ensuring rivalry is bitter and enormously exaggerated"...
> (8)

This is not the condition which was found among the immigrant poor.

CHART IV - RELATIONSHIP TO THE COMMUNITY OF THE IMMIGRANT POOR AND THE RESIDUAL POOR

D IMMIGRANT POOR	E RESIDUAL POOR
The immigrant parents brought with them a respect for	A mutual suspicion often exists between the residual

D

their immediate community, and sometimes a fear of the larger community. Parents were concerned to keep themselves and their children out of conflict with authorities, but immigrants rapidly gained citizenship and took up voting, etc., participation in the community. There was, nevertheless, a feeling that one could not fight "city hall," but when a mutual concern became important enough, they did, and often won their point.

Leadership readily arose within the immigrant groups, and, in time, such leaders (and often pseudo leaders, who accepted support of their group but not direction) found places for themselves within the power structure. Despite claims to the contrary, considerable campaign effort is exerted by political candidates to appeal to, and serve, the expressed interests and needs of the established groups of ex-immigrants. When leaders of immigrant groups "make the grade" and secure political positions, estrangement between them and their group is often not as evident as is the case with the residual poor.

T

poor and the community and its authorities. The community power structure often views the residual poor and their neighborhoods as the source of high costs of police, fire protection, welfare, crime, and delinquency, and recently, of wild uncontrollable senseless rioting. Informal community attitudes include fears of integration which may lower the standards of other community schools. Recently also, the participation of the poor in War on Poverty programs has led some political leaders to fear the conversion of poverty program participants into political challengers.

The residual poor, on the other hand, are fearful of community authorities. Any contact with them, they believe, based on past experience amended by personal perceptions, can only lead to trouble. Many have concluded that they cannot "fight city hall" either collectively or individually and the usual reaction is to avoid such contacts. Even neighborhood associations are held suspect by many individuals. They view leaders of such groups with an unspoken question, "What's in it for them?"

Participation in a community or neighborhood association requires energy and leisure, self-respect, and understanding of operational procedures and abiltiy to communicate. These are often lacking after an exhausting days work (if employed), without a sense of personal worth (if employed) and without a knowledge of what and how to participate, and without necessary communication skills.

Occassionally, a Latin-American or Negro may show leadership, but all too often, such leadership is "bought off" by "City Hall" with a political appointment, after which estrangement develops between the leader and group.

Adams, in his evaluation of Negro leadership, prior to the Civil Rights movement, sought three qualities: knowledge of and ability for the job of leader; honesty of purpose in leadership; and ability to inspire others to follow (12). He found no leaders in the group to meet the standards which he felt were realistically required. He also found extreme divisiveness within the group. Silverman explains why such leadership is usually lacking in the general Negro group. He states that:

> "A terrible vacuum of leadership results (from the black bourgeoise's distaste for Negro lower class and vice versa).... as soon as he (a leader) is able to move with ease among the whites, and raise money from them - he loses his rapport with the lower class Negroes, who resent his 'going white'." (13) He adds that: "The great mass of big-city Negroes trapped in the ghetto, become convinced that their 'leaders,' far from trying to help them, were merely trying to escape from being black." (14)

A similar condition exists among Southwestern Latin-Americans. Adams states that he found suspicion by the Latin-American poor of those who sought leadership, either because the would-be leaders were "better off" than they, or because they suspected that the "would-be leaders" wanted to be able to claim that they were Latin leaders to the Anglo power structure so that they could then use their positions for self-aggrandisement (15). "When they get a big car and a T.V., they forget what it used to be like." He found that many Latin-Americans were ready to work hard <u>against</u> a Latin-American whom they thought might try to claim a position as a representative of their group.

Riessman refers to the "ready willingness" of the residual poor "to believe in the corruptness of leaders, and a generally antagonistic feeling toward 'big shots'." (7)

This is far different from the condition found by observers of the immigrant groups during their days of arrival and hardship. There may have been cleavages between groups, but there was greater cohesion within groups than is currently found among the residual poor.

The attitude toward relationships to the official government bodies is also quite different between the immigrant poor and the residual poor. Where the immigrants usually held a respectful distance from officialdom, they did not hesitate to call on officials to meet a need, solve a problem or undo a grave injustice facing their group. In the residual poor, on the other hand, this is far from the case. Coles reports general suspicion of withdrawal from, and rejection of any relationship with any type of authority

by the residual poor (16). This is also reported by Adams who quotes one respondent as follows: "The only thing the poor people can get from the government is trouble." Many asked him, when he discussed possible approaches to government to improve conditions, "What good would it do? We can't change anything!" (15) Where participation in politics and local community activities won hope and gains for the earlier immigrants, this is not the case with the residual poor. The condition of personal group helplessness, powerlessness, suspicion of, fear of, and isolation from government and society is a clear indication of alienation as described by Seeman (17) and others who have preferred to describe this condition in terms of anomy (18) (19).

The condition is aggravated among the Latin-American poor by still an additional cultural factor, based on previous Mexican experience, the fear of all government and officialdom, because of fear of being caught in a mesh of bureaucracy and required bribery. This has been reported by Lewis in his various works, including Five Families (20).

The attitude of alienation of the residual poor from community includes alienation from community social agencies and public welfare as well. Coles indicates that this is in great part due to the tendency of middle class social and public welfare workers to try to instill their middle class values into the poor (15). He quotes some of his respondents, "They keep on telling us... to do like them." "They sure don't know what it's about." An additional factor in the alienation from community is due to the erosion over many years of their own freedom to act as autonomous individuals within the restrictions of various relief programs, which have provided minimum provision for existence but little opportunity for self-improvement and upward mobility.

This was not the condition found in the relationship between the immigrant poor and the social service agencies. In most instances, the immigrants were either middle-class or aspiring for middle-class status and had little relative difficulty relating to the agencies. In the case of the refugee group, relief standards were considerably above the public welfare family budgets, and provision was made within the budget and in the agency for opportunities for economic and occupational upgrading. The refugee client usually did not fear the agency, and for most of the clients,

the period of dependency was short lived. Both the client and social worker consistently had the goal of self-sufficiency of the client before them. This is not the case with most public welfare agency relationships, when necessarily workers are more often investigators and record keepers rather than rehabilitators.

Cohen has noted that most private social agencies have concentrated on middle-class psychoanalytic services which has further increased the social distance between them and the residual poor. He states that "private social work has tended to disengage itself from the poor" (21). Cloward and Epstein, he reports, have also arrived at the same conclusions (22).

Thus the residual poor, unlike their predecessors, the immigrant poor, have lost contact with community, and lack leadership acceptable to it, in building communication bridges with the community.

CHART V - RELATIONSHIP OF IMMIGRANT POOR AND RESIDUAL POOR TO EMPLOYMENT

D IMMIGRANT POOR	E RESIDUAL POOR
The employer-employee relationship was often not as personal as in the "Protestant Ethic" pattern. Employer and employee had greater social distance between them. Employee worked hard in order to "get ahead", and in an expanding economy, his work and growing skill were valued by employer who needed him. The immigrant employee often did not stay long with his employer, and instead struck out for himself. When he did stay on, he participated in labor unions he helped to organize and which gave him security in negotiating with his employer. The lesser job satisfaction (as compared to "Protestant Ethic" pattern) was made up for in evening school, labor union activity, cultural activities, etc.	Employment is often a tenuous, temporary condition. Employee relationship with employer is most often socially distant and impersonal. A mutual suspicion often exists between employer and employee and often follows stereotype that employee, because he is poor and unskilled, is ignorant and inherently lazy. Thus, employer presses for optimum performance from employee. Employee, in turn, suspects employer of seeking more from him than is the employers due, and helps to inforce employer's self-validating prediction, re: his laziness or incompetence. Employee often suspects employer's intention to lay him off, and often "simulates" being busy on the job, as well as "simulates" a respect for employer he really does not feel.
Most immigrants were able to deal with objects both motorically and conceptually and thus learned from usual teaching methods.	The work habits of the residual poor are often negative, as are the work attitudes. The residual poor often have little realization of the relationship between work habits and attitudes and possible avenues for upward economic mobility, for which they often have not learned, as yet, to aspire.
The immigrant poor had communication with their employers, despite frequent language difficulties. In an expanding economy, workers even of little training but with good work habits were in demand, and could seek improvements in conditions of work either individually, or as	Communication with employer is limited, and need for unskilled workers is such that the residual poor are the last hired and the first fired. Because of the

D	E
unions, which they were willing to participate in.	difficulties of unionization of this group (due to mutual suspicion, etc.) and the few gains possible in such efforts, union organizations have, until now, done little with this group. Residual poor tend to have greater physical and motoric abilities, and seem to need to manipulate objects physically in order to perform adequately.(7)

Riessman refers to the preference of the residual poor for jobs which promise security even at low wages to jobs at greater wages which entail risks. "He does not want to become a foreman because of the economic insecurity resulting from the loss of job seniority." (7) This was the opposite of the case with the immigrant poor, who sought promotion and improvement, despite occassional risks to security (for which he often provided in advance with some limited savings, if possible).

Finally, automation and cybernation have not only become established on the American scene, but are expanding. These processes eliminate jobs of the unskilled, while leaving place for the skilled. This problem the immigrant poor did not encounter, (and perhaps, if they had encountered it, they would probably have been able to meet it by accepting necessary training). The residual poor are now encountering it, and past opportunities for training to meet the problem have been relatively inadequate, inaccessable and/or unacceptable within the framework and culture of the residual poor (23).

CHART VI - RELATIONSHIP OF IMMIGRANT POOR AND RESIDUAL POOR TO RELIGION

D IMMIGRANT POOR	E RESIDUAL POOR
The immigrant, like the Protestant Ethnic modal, was religiously observant, but his religion was less closely related to his work responsibilities. He had an intrinsic acceptance of religion and often accepted personal responsibility for his actions. His religion to a lesser extent than the Protestant Ethic Model reinforced his family sense of responsibility and cohesion. The immigrant often held to his religion as the nucleus of the culture he brought with him. The immigrant poor, though poor, were quite dignified in their church performance. Religion was usually a total family matter and involved activity by all.	To the residual poor, religion may be an emotional escape (especially in the case of women who are heads of their families and over-laden with physical and emotional burdens) or it may be a necessary but meaningless procedure one needs to undergo to receive church aid (in the case of "rice-Christians," who often do gather around a growing number of religious missionary programs for the poor). In any case, it is not deeply related to one's worldly acts or activities. "The deprived individual is much more likely to enjoy physical manifestations of religious emotions such as handclapping and singing"(7) The deprived individual will most often leave religion to his wife. (7)

CHART VII - CONCEPT OF SELF OF IMMIGRANT POOR
AND RESIDUAL POOR

D	E
IMMIGRANT POOR	RESIDUAL POOR
The immigrant knew who he was. He brought his own culture with him and infused into it those portions of American culture necessary for his assimilation into American society. His growth as a learning person and as parent of learning, upwardly mobile children helped keep his sense of self-esteem secure. The immigrant's concept of self was not only strengthened by his employment, but also by his status and acceptance in a cohesive nuclear and extended family.	Except where religions may provide a cultural foundation, the residual poor individual has only a deprived sense of self, which makes learning, working, relating to others, and action (rather than being acted upon) difficult and perhaps impossible unless aided externally. This is often tied in with patterns of self-hatred, which at times led the individual to withdraw from contact with others, especially with others of the non-poor (14). This hatred has recently been directed not against the individual, as in the past, but against others in society, especially those with whom they come in contact in society (police, retailers, landlords, etc.) and liberals, whom the individual often views as hypocritical (14). Thus, the ghetto or self-associated program has begun to take on the flavor of accommodation and submission, and is thus, to an extent, degrading. Self-improvement is now beginning to be linked with "Uncle-Tom-ism", and is to be avoided (14).

Silverman states that:

> "Self-hatred is manifested in the use of hair straighteners, skin bleaches... in the desperate but futile attempt to come close to the white ideal. (It is) evident also in the caste of color that still infects the Negro Community..... (It is) expressed in apathy: there is no use trying anything, joining anything, doing anything, because you are just no damned good." (13)

Kardiner and Ovesey describe self-hatred whether inwardly or outwardly directed, as "a slow but cumulative, fatal psychological poison." (8)

Ellison describes the residual poor in their "desperate search for identity.... Not quite citizens and yet Americans, full of the tensions of modern man, but rejected as primitives.... rejecting the second class status assigned them, their whole lives have become a search for answers to questions: Who am I? What am I?, and Where? Significantly, in Harlem, the reply to the greeting, "How are you?" is very often, "Oh, man, I'm no where." (24)

Wilhelm and Powell indicate that despite attempts at promoting the Negro's escape from his conditions, too often the effort is, in effect, an attempt to make the Negro into "a dark white man." "The Negro cannot establish his identity by erasing himself," they state (25). Wilhelm and Powell believe that only a

program which provides employment for all, and a higher valuation on people than machines and property will solve the problem of identity for the residual poor. Thus, the residual poor are only a symptom of a problem of total society.

CHART VII - "MONEY" AS A VALUE FOR THE IMMIGRANT POOR AND THE RESIDUAL POOR

D IMMIGRANT POOR	E RESIDUAL POOR
Money was valued by the immigrant poor for: 1. The security it could buy for periods of future difficulty. 2. Provision for one's immediate family needs and education for the children. 3. Opportunities for going into business and individual advancement. 4. Resources to aid one's relatives overseas or newly arrived. The immigrant poor may have, at first, been "short" of money and ignorant of American methods of consumer purchasing, but they soon learned how to get their "money's worth."	Money is needed for daily bare existence. "One buys on time" and because of ignorance of the market or lack of ready cash, the "poor pay more." Money is viewed as an escape from the present, for getting some extra enjoyment in a deprived existence. Often money is used for an extravagance which brings temporary color and show into a drab family life, but that which is purchased quickly falls apart or into disuse. The residual poor often are lacking ready cash, ignorant of the basic principles of consumer purchasing and are often victimized (26).

CHART VIII - "CREDIT" - USE OF BY IMMIGRANT POOR AND RESIDUAL POOR

D IMMIGRANT POOR	E RESIDUAL POOR
Credit was used sparingly, acceptable only in a crisis, usually resorted to only within the extended family. When one took credit from a merchant, one paid it back on time, so that it would be available again.	Credit is necessary because there never is enough money to go around for all of the immediate needs. The poor are often not concerned with keeping a good credit rating and thus they end up borrowing at exhorbitant interest rates from marginal credit resources.

CHART IX - "TIME" IS A VALUE, TO THE IMMIGRANT POOR AND THE RESIDUAL POOR

D IMMIGRANT POOR	E RESIDUAL POOR
The immigrant was future oriented, but his immediate needs were met first of all. His plans were for the future, for upward mobility of his children and himself, and for future aid of his relatives. The individual set a calendar and planned and acted accordingly. Time was less carefully hoarded than in the "Protestant Ethic" pattern, but because of pressure for upward mobility, it was carefully and purposefully used by many immigrants.	The residual poor are present oriented. Tomorrow cannot be expected to be any better than today, so let it take care of itself. Essentially an unplanned existence with the individual as object rather than actor. Time is either plentiful (when unemployed) and a bore, or short when working. Less money means more difficult transportation and more time spent going to and from work, etc.

CHART X - HOUSING- AS A STYLE OF LIFE PATTERN
OF THE IMMIGRANT POOR AND THE RESIDUAL POOR

D	E
IMMIGRANT POOR	RESIDUAL POOR
The immigrant usually sought adequate housing within his needs but housing expenditures usually had less priority than education. Limited means usually made for less than adequate housing. When housing was over-priced, the immigrants would move elsewhere, and the only restriction usually encountered in housing was extent of ability to pay.	Inadequate and often over-priced, especially in case of minority group poor. Often poor are victimized in housing rental (seldom a purchase). Housing is often used as a "temporary camp" and resentment against "victimizing landlord" and his authority is repaid with harsh use (or misuse) of his property. Housing rents and costs are artificially high for the residual poor because of de facto restrictive covenants, unwillingness of many landlords to accept welfare rentals, etc. This creates a double standard in American housing, with unkept and badly maintained housing at high prices for some and not for others. This is a pragmatic item which fits into any attitudes of paranoia held by the residual poor against the society.

CHART XI - CLOTHING - AS A STYLE OF LIFE PATTERN
OF THE IMMIGRANT POOR AND THE RESIDUAL POOR

D	E
IMMIGRANT POOR	RESIDUAL POOR
The immigrant sought adequate clothing for self and family, but often could only afford less than adequate clothing. Thus, the "special suit or dress" was saved for occasions. Clothing was usually functional, not ostentatious.	Clothing of the residual poor is often inadequate. Because most men's and women's daily clothing, both poor and non-poor, often look alike, the poor may "blend" into the mass. Often the poor will buy something "garnish" to bring extra color into their lives.

CHART XII - EDUCATION AS A VALUE FOR THE
IMMIGRANT POOR AND THE RESIDUAL POOR

D	E
IMMIGRANT POOR	RESIDUAL POOR
The immigrant often valued education for its upward mobility utility as well as for the sake of learning.	Education is not highly valued by many of the residual poor. There is often a suspicion by the poor that education is a "dead-end" and an arm of society's authority over their children and themselves which they resent. School keeps their children from going to work and from helping to support the family. Children are expected to earn money to help support the family as soon as they can.

It should be pointed out that principals and teachers are usually not anti-poor, anti-Negro, anti-American-Indian, etc., but that they are pro-academic

achievers. Because the parents of the immigrant poor sought educational achievement for their children, the teachers of immigrant children maintained a sense of hopefulness for the achievement, and the "self-fulfilling prophesy," (27) came true. Mainly, immigrant children were already literate in one langauge, which not only made learning conceptualizations more possible but gave the child a sense of learning security which aided him in absorbing what the school offered. It should be emphasized that the immigrant child was either already middle class or sought to become middle-class or was so encouraged by his parents.

This is not true with the residual poor in most cases.

The resulting confrontation is obvious in the light of the condition described by Knowlton:

> "The philosophy of the state and local school systems is imbued with the traditional middle class Anglo-American value that all minority and immigrant groups should be required to abandon their native languages and cultures, give up their group identity, and become absorbed as individuals into the dominant group, usually on a lower class level. If any group resists full acculturation it is regarded as somewhat uncivilized, un-American, and potentially subversive. There is a complete unwillingness to accept the idea that a native born American who happens to want to speak Spanish, German, or Polish and to retain many of the values of his native culture might well be a loyal American. As a result, the full force of the education system has been directed toward the eradication of both the Spanish language and the Spanish-American or Mexican-American cultures." (28)

Kardiner and Ovesey state that for the Negro impoverished child:

> "School becomes a meaningless and unrewarding bore. Negro children understandably fail to see the relevance of education to their opportunities in life; many are obliged to work half or full time; the competition of street life with the school is too great and the street, with its imitation of the struggle for existence, with its sexual opportunities, and those for adventure, generally wins." (8)

The process which results all too often in school failures proceeds as follows:

The deprived child enters school with limited vocabulary, limited self-concept, limited world experience, etc., so that he's about two years behind the child of the middle family in terms of readiness to learn what the school has to offer. "Social promotion" for such children begins in first grade. The cumulative academic deficit makes learning of the grade placement materials beyond him, and in turn, causes his teacher to have to decide whether she or the student has failed. If she feels that it is hopeless, she "cringes" at repeated attacks on the child's self-esteem by giving him failing grades, so she continues the vicious cycle of "social promotion," until the day when the child is legally permitted to drop from school into "limbo". It is thus

understandable why teachers seek transfer to middle-class schools where such decisions and struggles with conscience are avoidable.

This was not the condition with the immigrant poor, who have shown a remarkable educational record, according to the studies made. (5)

CHART XIII - MORAL INTEGRITY IN RELATION TO THE IMMIGRANT POOR AND RESIDUAL POOR

D	E
IMMIGRANT POOR	RESIDUAL POOR
Moral integrity was usually internalized in the immigrant. A man of considerable self-esteem (as the immigrant was) could not afford possible loss of respect from others because of lack of moral integrity. Nor could he face himself in such circumstances.	A fluctuating matter. Truth and honesty, etc. depend on the relationship with others involved in the particular instance. Emotional identification with others and verifiability have much to do with the condition. An impaired concept of self makes moral integrity a real problem, for the residual poor, especially in view of the hopelessness of seeking goals through "legitimate" means, and also in view of the continuing needs.(29)

CHART XIV - LIFE GOALS IN RELATION TO IMMIGRANT POOR AND RESIDUAL POOR

D	E
IMMIGRANT POOR	RESIDUAL POOR
The immigrant sought security and economic mobility for himself and his family. Thus, he sought self-dependence. Saving was not religiously involved.* It was purely a rational act toward the immigrant's life goals. *As was the case of the Protestant Ethic.	To get by for the moment. To enjoy a momentary satisfaction, within an atmosphere of hopelessness and helplessness which prevent goal orientation. To be an actor for the moment instead of always being acted upon.

CHART XV - GENERAL LIFE STYLE OF THE IMMIGRANT POOR AND RESIDUAL POOR

D	E
IMMIGRANT POOR	RESIDUAL POOR
Hard work, careful living to save money and prevent difficulties. "Violence is a seldom thing" among immigrants, and most differences were resolved by discussion (many minorities set up special internal arbitration structures for the purpose of resolving conflict). Limited geographical mobility was apparent once the immigrant "got settled." Usually had more children than in the "Protestant Ethic" pattern.	Before those in authority, the residual poor often play the role expected of them. A simulation for the occasion. Often one works only as hard as the "boss" requires, and the "boss" usually watches carefully. There is very little leisure time for the employed women of the residual poor, nor does the unemployed man of the residual poor have much interest in political action. Thus the poor often resort to avoidance or violence for resolution of frustration or conflicts. The residual poor are often locally very mobile, just a few steps

D

E

ahead of the landlord and installment bill collectors. Thus, they go from inadequate housing to inadequate housing, often leaving their inadequate furnishings behind.

CHART XVI - GENERAL SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL DYNAMICS OF THE IMMIGRANT POOR AND THE RESIDUAL POOR

D

IMMIGRANT POOR

A self-reliant group. In the new world, without anyone to help except for a few relatives and countrymen, the immigrant had to work hard and stay out of trouble if he and his family were to survive and progress. In an expanding economy, there was need for his "hands" and there was hopefulness for the future.

The immigrant poor were relatively temperate in their emotional expression, because they had other means of communication, and because they could look ahead to moving "up and out."

E

RESIDUAL POOR

Usually has more children but with a number of mates. A group alientated from and suspicious of the greater society. A group made up of people whose impaired self-esteem often prevents learning and upward mobility, and whose continued treatment by society reinforces their immobility.

There is an ineffective transmission of more than a minimal spectrum of socialization from parent to child.

The residual poor are often beset with emotional upset which is a main form of the vicious cycle of impoverishment (30).

The inability to "move up" and to communicate the sense of hopelessness and powerlessness often leads to self-defeating dynamics.

Kardiner and Ovesey (8) state that

"The psychological effects of the slave status on the individual (included)

(1) Degradation of self-esteem
(2) Destruction of cultural forms and forced adoption of foreign culture traits.
(3) Destruction of the family unit, with particular disparagement of the male.
(4) Relative enhancement of the female status, thus making her the central figure in the culture, by virtue of her value to the white male for sexual ends and mammy to the white children.
(5) The destruction of social cohesion among Negroes by the inability to have their own culture.
(6) The idealization of the white master; but with this ideal was incorporated an object which was at once revered and hated. These became incompatible constituents of the Negro personality.

They add that:

"What to do about the Negro was subject to violent oscillations and was the pawn in conflicts that had deep economic roots." (8)
(Thus the Negro was never secure - always in fear of a shift).

"Another compensatory feature of slavery was the vicarious participation in the culture through identification with the master. The slave could get some prestige by belonging to a wealthy or influential household." (8)
(Usually these were mulattoes, and thus the seeds of self-hatred, the hatred of that which made one less than "fully white" were sown)

"There was an absence of strong pressure (in slavery) on the indivuidual to achieve status, a feature that was many a pernicious in the white man's culture. When status is frozen, one cannot successfully direct one's aspirations towards goals that are beyond the possibility of attainment. Some inner peace can be achieved by ceasing to struggle for it." (8) (This explains much of the motivation of "non-striving").

It is thus obvious that the residual poor is alienated from his world because it is a world he never made or chose to live in. (This is very different from immigrant poor who chose the new world).

Scott states that:

> "From a sociological point of view. . .the sources of alienation are to be found in the lack of
> a) committment to values
> b) conformity to values
> c) responsibility in roles
> d) control of facilities
> The psychological states of alienation. . .powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation, normlessness, and self-estrangement" (31).

Obviously the residual poor meet all these conditions and thus are motivated to patterns which are self-perpetuating and defeating.

Kardiner and Ovesey, for example, state that under slavery:

> "There was no possibility for emotional interchange (between master and slave). If a slave was sick, he would be treated like a sick horse, to restore his utility. The rage or protest of the slave could be ignored or treated with violence. The only really effective form of protest was flight." (8)

The flight of the Negro father from family responsibility after unemployment and failure is a continuation of the "flight from problems" pattern. Often Latin-American poor will agree to a time and date for an appointment knowing full well that they cannot come. Puerto-Rican poor are reported to say "yes" to authorities if they know a "yes" is desired by the authority, because a "no" would require a complicated explanation.

Kardiner and Ovesey state that: "free emotional interaction between slaves was seriously impaired." No culture can arise under such conditions (8).

Obviously, where the immigrant poor had a culture which they could use as a "home base" the residual poor either never had a culture which could be used for emotional security, or their culture was so eroded after years of poverty and welfare as to be no longer effective.

The low tolerance for frustration found in the residual poor is still another effect of the total dynamics of chronic poverty.

Perhaps a key to the entire problem can be found in the "actor-acted upon" concepts as described by Roach (32), Howe (33), Harrington (34), Scott (31), and others.

Roach, for example, presents a dynamic system based on Parsons which could well be used both in understanding the dynamics of the poor and in understanding the motivation of social word's relations with the poverty group. This is based on the Parsonian "Actor-Acted Upon" concepts which defines the actor (the autonomous person) as one who has a complex inner life, is future oriented, and can evaluate, choose and plan. He states that an actor must have the following properties:

1. The Actor has internalized the common value standards of society (The residual poor have not; the immigrant poor had).

2. The actor has a stable set of motives. (The residual poor perhaps not; the immigrant poor had).

3. The actor has an elaborate repertory of roles. (The residual poor are culturally deprived and do not; the immigrant poor had many roles).

4. The actor has sophisticated role skills. (The residual poor has few such skills; the immigrant poor had such skills).

5. The actor has a developed self-system. (The definition of the culturally deprived poor carries with it implications of a deprived or impaired ego system; the immigrant poor knew who he was--quite definitely).

6. The actor is capable of complex mental functioning. (The residual poor have trouble handling conceptual thinking; the immigrant poor had the ability soon after, if not, on arrival.)

"By action is meant any behavior to which the individual attaches a meaning. Behavior can be meaningful only if governed by rules, that is, shared understandings."

Thus, it is clear that the immigrant poor was an actor in his life space, and the residual poor is"acted on." Only with a restructuring of the conceptualizations and the related opportunities (of employment, advancement, etc.) can the residual poor become actors, and in the process become productive.

NOTES

(1) Among those who have made this observation are Micheal Harrington, Louis Lomax, James Baldwin, and Nat Hentoff.

(2) Glazer, Nathan, "The Peoples of America", The Nation: One Hundreth Anniversary Issue, 1965, p. 138.

(3) Davie, Maurice R., Refugees in America. N.Y., Harper, 1947, p. 45-46.

(3a) Argow, Webster "Formula For Explosion" Frontier Vol. 16 no 12, Oct.1965

(4) Schmid, Calvin F. and Nobbe, Charles E., "Sociolo-economic Differentials Among Non-White Races." American Sociological Review, Vol. 30, No. 6, Dec. 1965, pp. 909-922.

(5) Both the earlier immigrants and the refugee immigrants have been combined in one category for comparison with the residual poor. Although there was considerable disparity between the earlier immigrants and the refugee immigrants, it was by comparison inconsiderable in the comparison of the immigrant group with the residual poor. Sources on the immigrant poor included:
   a) Handlin, Oscar, The Uprotted, Little Brown, Co. 1951.
   b) Davie, Maurice R; Refugees in America N. Y. Harper, 1947.
   c) Data also based on personal observations of the writer.

(6) Sources on the residual poor included (in addition to other items quoted specifically)
   a) Gordon, S., Editor, Poverty in American, San Fransisco, Chandler Publishing Co. 1965.
   b) Harrington, Micheal, The Other America, Baltimore, Penguin books, 1963.
   c) Myrdall, Gunnar, A Challenge to Affluence, N.Y. Random House, 1963.
   d) Segalman, Ralph, "The Conflict of Cultures Between Social Work and the Underclass"; Rocky Mountain Social Sciences Journal, Colorado State University, Fort Collins, October, 1965.
   e) Segalman, Ralph, "Cultural Isolation, Cultural Lag and Social Work," (Paper presented at 1965 Annual Meeting, Texas Council of National Association of Social Work Proceedings, Houston, Texas, Nov. 14, 1965.
   f) Data also based on personal observations of the writer.
   g) It should be noted that many of the residual poor are of/or descendants of the unemployed groups of the economic depression of the 1930's whose reemployment problems were never resolved adequately.

(7) Riessman, Frank, "A Portrait of the Underprivileged," Will, Robert E. and Harold G. Vatter, Eds; Poverty in Affluence; the Social, Political, and Economic Dimensions in the U.S. N.Y.; Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc; 1965, pp. 74-77.

(8) Kardiner, Abram, and Ovesey, Lionel, The Mark of Oppression; Explorations in the Personality of the American Negro, N.Y. Meridian, 1964.

(9) May, Edgar, The Wasted Americans. N.Y. Signet, 1964.

(10) Moynihan, Daniel P., "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action", Washington, D.C., U. S. Dept. of Labor, 1965.

(11) Ornati, Oscar; Poverty in America, Washington, D.C., National Policy Committee on Pockets of Poverty of the Farmers Educational Foundation, March 5, 1964.

(12) Adams, Julius J., The Challenge: A Study in Negro Leadership; N.Y. Wendell Malliet and Co., 1949 pp. 11-13.

(13) Silverman, Charles E., Crisis in Black and White, N.Y. Random House,1964.

(14) Silverman, Charles E., "Beware the Day They Change Their Minds" Fortune, Nov., 1965, pp.150-153, 255.

(15) Adams, Mark K. "A Report on Politics in El Paso." Unpublished PhD Doctoral Dissertation, Boston, Mass.: Mass. Institute of Technology, 1964.

(16) Coles, Robert, "The Poor Don't Want To Be Middle Class", New York Times Magazine, Dec. 19, 1965, pp. 7, 54-58.

(17) Seeman, Melvin. "On the Meaning of Alienation", in Coser, Lewis A. and Bernard Rosenberg, Eds., Sociological Theory: A Book Of Readings; N.y. Macmillan, 1964, pp. 525-539.

(18) Merton, Robert K., "Social Structure and Anomie", in Social Theory and Social Structure, Glencoe, Free Press, 1949.

(19) MacIver, R. M., The Ramparts We Watch, N.Y. Macmillan, 1950.

(20) Lewis, Oscar; Five Families, N.Y. BASIC Books, 1959.

(21) Cohen, Nathan E., "Reduction of Welfare Dependency", Gordon S. Ed, Poverty in America, San Fransisco, Chandler Pub. Co., 1965, pp. 292-3.

(22) Cloward, Richard and Irwin Epstein: "Private Social Welfare's Disengagement From the Poor", (To be published in Poverty & Low Income Culture), Pearl and Riessman, Eds, (expected in 1966).

(23) Bagdikan, Ben H. "The Invisible Americans", Saturday Evening Post, Dec. 21-28, 1963, pp. 28-37.

(24) Ellison, Ralph, "Harlem is No Where" Harpers, Aug. 1964, pp. 53-57.

(25) Willhelm, Sidney M. & Powell, Edwin H., "Who Needs the Negro?", Transaction Sept./Oct., 1964, pp. 3-6.

(26) Stewart, Maxwell S. The Poor Among Us: Challenge and Opportunity, N.Y., Public Affairs Pamphlets, (No. 22) 1964, p. 7.

(27) "Children who are treated as if they are ineducable almost invariably become ineducable." Kenneth B. Clark as quoted by Silverman (14).

(28) Knowlton, Clark S. "Bilingualism: A Problem or An Asset", (Speech prepared for Faculty of Anthony, New Mexico, School District, 12/8/65.

(29) Bennett, John C. "The Ethics of Poverty", Will, Robert E. and Harold G. Vatter, Eds. Poverty in Affluence, N.Y. Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1965.

(30) Macdonald, Dwight, Our Invisible Poor, N.Y., Sidney Hillman Foundation, Undated, p. 11.

(31) Scott, Marvin B. "The Social Sources of Alienation", in Horowitz, Louis, Ed., The New Sociology: Essays in Social Science and Social Theory in Honor of C. Wright Mills. N.Y. Oxford Univ. Press, 1965, p.241.

(32) Roach, Jack L. "Sociological Analysis & Poverty" American Journal of Sociology. October, 1965, pp 68-77.

(33) Howe, Louisa P., "Some Sociological Aspects of Identification" in Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences, Mustenberger & Axelroad, Eds. N.Y., 1955 pp. 61-82.

(34) Harrington, Micheal. "Is there a Culture of Poverty?" N.Y., National Social Welfare Assembly, Occassional Papers, Poverty #1, 5/12/1964.

(27) "Children who are treated as if they are ineducable almost invariably become ineducable." Kenneth B. Clark as quoted by Silverman (14).